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BULLETIN OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY



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MAUGUA THE BEAR IN NORTHEASTERN INDIAN MYTHOLOGY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

Michael A. Volmar

The black bear (*Ursus americanus*) has been living in the Northeast for thousands of years. Humans (*Homo sapiens sapiens*) were here too, since about 12,000 years ago. In this paper I explore what bears meant to northeastern peoples. One fact is certain, they made interesting and intriguing bear effigies (Figure 1; Appendix 2). Besides these effigy objects, archaeologists in New England also find black bear remains in pre-Contact sites. How can we interpret these archaeological discoveries?

To answer these questions, I rely on historical documents from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the archaeological record. First, I present the written records to document how bears fit into the Native conception of the world and how this was expressed in ritual, material culture, subsistence, and folklore. Some similar behaviors are recognizable archaeologically. Next, I present this archaeological information and suggest how folklore and mythology of seventeenth century Indian groups can be used to interpret archaeological remains; then I suggest interpretations for bear effigies and remains from earlier time periods.

Oral Traditions

Northeastern Algonquian speakers believed that the creator had ordained that the people could eat *Maugua* or the bear (see Aubin 1975; also Appendix 3) for their sustenance. In the Eighteenth century, the Lenape told Heckewelder that:

The creator ordained [all animals] for some use and therefore...[told people]...which were intended for our nourishment. [Therefore] We ate [bear] meat with a good appetite (Heckewelder 1876:198).

Historical documents contain many indications that bears were a preferred food source. The chief animals hunted by Contact period New Englanders were deer, moose, and bear (Wood 1977:106). In the early part of the seventeenth century, William Wood wrote "bears [are] accounted very good meat, esteemed [by] all above venison" (Wood 1977:43). Moreover, he states that bears "never prey upon English cattle, or offer to assault any person, unless being vexed" (Wood 1977:43). This information suggests that bears were killed for food by both colonists and Native people, and not because they posed a real or imagined threat.

Wood also reports on Native hospitality when he was served bear meat one night after becoming lost. He reported that eventually "we arrived at an Indian wigwam where we...feasted [on] the haunch of a fat bear" (Wood 1977:90). A happy ending to a traumatic night in the woods.

Bear meat was especially desirable as an offering to the dead; when a bear was killed and prepared for a feast of the dead, guests were invited to attend the meal (Kraft 1978:35). Similarly, the Lenape thought corn was the wife of the Indians and to it they sacrificed bear's flesh (Hulbert and Schwarze in Kraft 1986:128-41). Note the connection between sacrificing bears' flesh, corn, and women. Bear-shaped effigies may have adorned pestles (Volmar 1992, 1994).

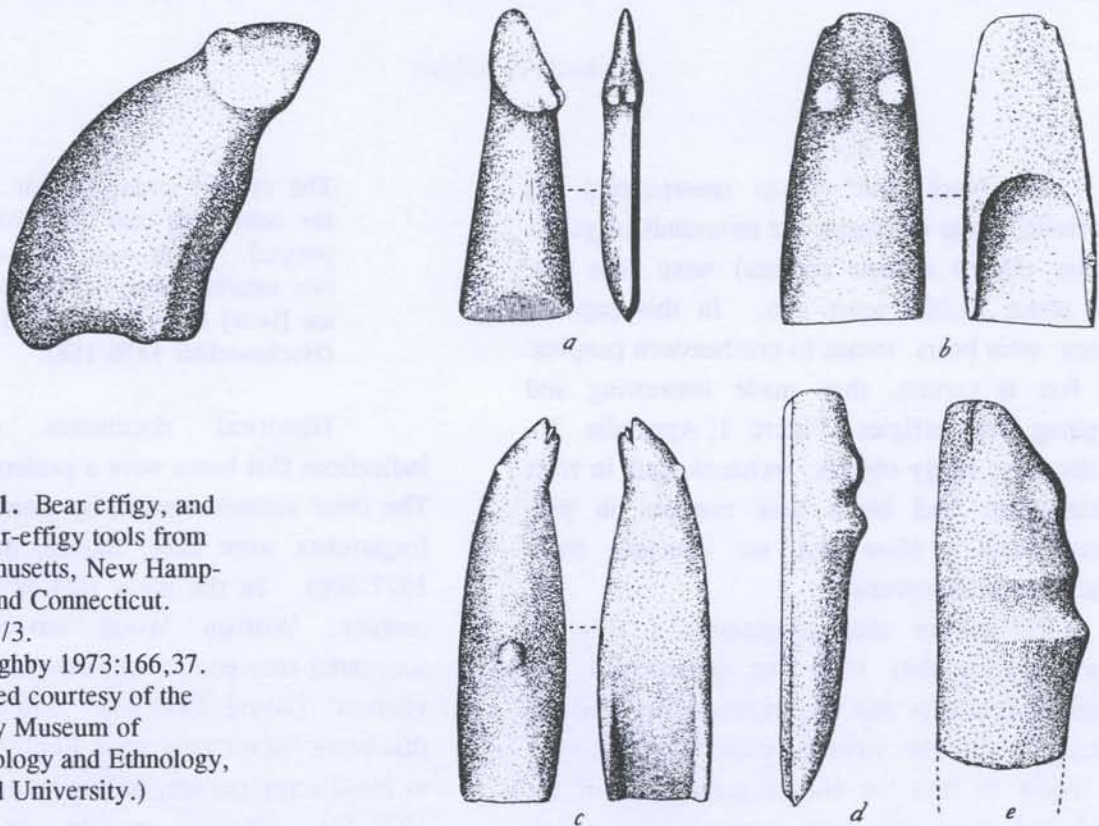


Figure 1. Bear effigy, and five bear-effigy tools from Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut. Scale: 1/3. (Willoughby 1973:166,37. Reprinted courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University.)

The Indians had other uses for bear besides eating the flesh. Bear fat was rendered for use as a pomade for the hair and as a body ointment to ward off biting insects and to keep the skin healthy. Bear oil also was used as a 'dip' for dried venison (Kraft 1986:157).

There are many references in the literature suggesting that bear skin was a preferred clothing (Wood 1977:84) and was a widely used bedding. A good bear skin blanket with the hair left on it was especially prized as a sleeping robe and lasted many years (Heckewelder in Kraft 1986:157). Bearskins were also used by the Lenape in the historic period to make the garment worn to symbolize *Mësinghòlikàn* which I will describe in more detail later (see also Kraft 1986:157).

Seventeenth and eighteenth century reports suggest that the Indians prepared for bear hunts immediately after the fall deer hunt (Hulbert and Schwarze 1910:58), and would continue hunting

bear into the latter end of February or beginning of March (Heckewelder 1876:156):

Indian hunters [learned from observation or tracking] in which hollow trees, rock overhangs, or caves the bears were hibernating. They smoked drowsy bears from hollow trees and clubbed them to death; or, creeping stealthily into a rocky lair, they speared the sleeping bruins (Kraft 1986:157).

As the following account illustrates, the opportunity to kill a bear was seldom passed up, even in warmer months:

For bears, they be common, being a great black kind of bear which...in strawberry time [June and July]...they will go upright like a man, and climb trees, and swim to the islands; which if [seen]...an

Indian will leap after him, where they go to water cuffs for bloody noses and scratched sides; in the end the man gets the victory, riding the bear over the watery plain till he can bear him no longer (Wood 1977:42).

While these reports suggest killing bear was fairly easy, bear hunting was not always successful. When a bear evaded hunters or a sure shot missed, the Algonquians said that it was one of the "little people" who appeared in the form of bears to frustrate hunters (Reynard 1934 in Simmons 1986:217).

Bears and Manitou

The Indian spiritual world was alive with spiritual powers known in the Algonquian language as *manitou*. Manitou was possessed by all things including heavenly bodies [sun, moon, sky], animals, inanimate objects, people, fire, water, sea, snow, earth, directions, seasons, winds, corn, and even colors (Salisbury 1982; Simmons 1970:51; Simmons 1986:38).

Like other living animals, bears were thought to be especially attuned to the presence of the supernatural (Simmons 1986:132). Several stories illustrate this point. For example, on the morning of May 8, 1676, a war party of more than three hundred Indians, led by Tispaquin, attacked Bridgewater, Massachusetts, hopelessly outnumbering the white defenders. While they were burning several buildings, a thunder and lightning storm broke overhead, and they withdrew without killing any of the twenty-six male defenders. According to a legend told in the area long after King Phillip's War, the warriors "had a pawwaw when the Devil appeared in the Shape of a Bear walkg on his 2 hind feet." If the appearance had been a deer, the Indians said, "they would have destroyed the whole Town & all the English." Because the vision was that of a bear, they "all followed him & drew off" (Stiles 1916:232 in Simmons 1986:51). Wood suggests bears typically



Figure 2. *Mësinghòlikàn*. Original drawing; courtesy of the artist, Michael Morrissey.

displayed this bipedal walking behavior when they are vexed or when they "be most fierce in strawberry time [June-July], [when] they have young ones" (Wood 1977:42). The powwows' interpretation to withdraw from battle, i.e. from an angry bear, seems prudent. Again, note the connections between the the spiritual power or manitou of the bear and women in this society.

The whole skin of a bear made up an essential part of a costume of the *Mësinghòlikàn* (Figure 2: to be impersonator of "Living Solid Face" may have been handed down matrilineally), in the Delaware Big House Ceremony (Speck 1931:40). Powwows, or spiritual specialists, dressed in a very realistic bear costume to appear as a bear walking on its hind legs, with huge antlers on its head, and a large bushy tail behind

(Heckewelder 1876:234-36). It is interesting to note again the reference to bears walking on their hind feet. One purpose of *Mësinghòlikàn* was to scare evil illnesses out of the suffering person (see also Kraft 1986:134,157,174).

Similarly, the Indians on Martha's Vineyard believed the bear was a potent supernatural symbol. Tantaquidgeon wrote that one Gay Head witch, Patience Gershom, "could transform herself into a bear at will" (Tantaquidgeon 1928 in Simmons 1986:104,107). Also, the Lenape believed there was once a very ferocious kind of bear, called the naked bear, which began the war between bears and humans. The last naked bear was killed in a place called Hoosink or Kettle in New York State (Heckewelder 1876:255). It is important to note that a skinned bear is said to look very much like a person.

The Mohawk have a story of a celestial bear in their mythology. One fall the hunters noticed that a giant bear was driving off all the game. Three brothers and their dog (Ji yeh) attacked the bear and it withdrew. Each drop of blood from the bear fell onto the fallen maple leaves changing them from green to yellow, gold, or deep red. The brothers and the dog chased the bear to the edge of the world, where all of them jumped into the sky. They can still be seen there today (i.e. Big Dipper: three hunters are the handle, bear is four stars of the cup, dog is the North star) (Rustige 1988:32-34). Ji yeh is the Mohawk name for the North Star.

Medicine Bundles and Fetishes

All Northeastern Algonquian speakers had spiritual guardians. While many guardians were spirit beings, inanimate objects, or even ghosts, most were animals (Kraft 1986:178). Besides various zoomorphic and anthropomorphic ornaments (Volmar 1992; Willoughby 1973,1980) and tatoos (Wood 1977:85), Indians had medicine bundles and fetishes to represent a guardian spirit or to attract prey (Kraft 1986:185; Simmons

1986:42; Tantaquidgeon 1972:25; Volmar 1992:21, 1994; Winslow [1624] 1910:343). Once a guardian spirit was recognized and accepted, the recipient might make an amulet or fetish made of bird or animal claws or teeth (Kraft 1986:178). Bear effigies, claws, and teeth, have been found in several archaeological sites, and are good examples of these kinds of spiritual objects (see Appendix 2; Heckenberger et al. 1990:125; Huntington 1982; Swigart 1987:68-69).

Archaeology

Both bear remains and effigy artifacts resembling bears have been frequently found from Maine to southern New England. Bear remains have been noted at sites from both the Archaic and Woodland periods (see Appendix 1).

Swigart proposes the presence of black bear remains [in archaeological sites] suggests winter subsistence procurement activities (Swigart 1987:60,61). This is in general accord with seventeenth century reports of bear hunting. Interestingly, an examination of the archaeological literature yields only a small number of sites with bear remains, usually in no appreciable quantities. For example, black bear represented .6% of the faunal assemblage at the Woodruff Rock Shelter (Swigart 1987:64) and probably accounted for about 8.1% of the meat eaten on the site (Swigart 1987:67). Deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*) seem to be the most abundant mammal found in many faunal assemblages (see McBride 1984:404-416; White 1974:70-71). Yet, as William Wood wrote, "bears [are]...very good meat, esteemed [by] all...above venison" (Wood 1977:43).

Some researchers suggest the paucity of bear remains indicates that many Algonquian groups took extraordinary care in the disposition of bear bones. Once killed, a slain bear was treated with special reverence, and care was taken to release its soul for the return journey to the spirit world or else "grandfather" bear would be offended (Kraft 1986:157). This may help explain why

more bear bones are not normally encountered in refuse pits or middens. Particular caution was exercised with respect to the skull, and it was frequently placed beyond the reach of scavengers (Kraft 1978:35-36). A large black bear skull was found at the Flagg Swamp site and may be one example of such careful disposition of bear remains (Huntington 1982:80-85; Mitchell 1985:81). Archaeological sites that contain bear remains may be interpreted as subsistence activity, feasting, and sacrifice (Coffin 1963:14; Hadlock 1949; Heckenberger et al. 1990; Huntington 1982; Kraft 1978; McBride 1984:404; D.Ritchie 1980; Waters 1962:35; Willoughby 1973). Kraft in particular suggests the Minisink site is an example of feasting and/or sacrifice of bear remains (Kraft 1978; see Appendix 1, #3).

Conclusion

Several sites and artifact types suggest bear subsistence and ceremonialism extends back in time from the seventeenth century to at least the Late Archaic (Coffin 1963:14; Hadlock 1949; Heckenberger et al. 1990; Huntington 1982; Kraft 1978; McBride 1984:404; D.Ritchie 1980; Waters 1962:35; Willoughby 1973). The similarities we see in the archaeological record between the Archaic and Woodland periods suggest that these populations or aspects of their cultures are ancestral to New England Contact period groups. While some changes in settlement and subsistence strategies and probably language are evident between the Archaic, Woodland, and Contact periods (Dincauze 1974; McBride 1984), there

are commonalities in the archaeological record which suggest beliefs about the supernatural are similar.

While ideas like pottery manufacture and subsistence practices like maize horticulture may have diffused from Adena and Hopewell groups into the Northeast, some cultural practices associated with ritual activity predate these influences and may have developed *in situ*. Similarly, Heckenberger et al. (1990:137) suggests that the reported derivation of northeastern Late Archaic Middlesex sites from Adena in Ohio does not seem to accord well with available data. Classic Adena did not emerge until after 500 B.C. and was therefore contemporaneous with only the latter stages of the Early Woodland burial complexes of the far Northeast (Heckenberger et al. 1990:139).

Bear remains and evidence of ceremonialism in the archaeological record resemble what one might expect after reading the primary and secondary historical documents. Archaeological data suggest similar ceremonial and subsistence activities date back to at least Late Archaic times. While, interpreting these sites can be problematic, I think we *can* interpret these sites and artifacts as more than curiosities, but only by examining the entire site context and artifact assemblage.

Acknowledgements: I would like in particular to thank Peter Benes for providing me the opportunity to present this paper at the Dublin Seminar; also Dena Dincauze, Eric Johnson, Amy Gazin-Schwartz, and Betty Little for their assistance.

Appendix 1: Archaeological Sites with Bear Remains

- 1) Connecticut site 61-10, a seasonal camp located near an upland stream, was occupied from the Middle Archaic through the Woodland periods. The faunal assemblage includes a bear radius (McBride 1984:407).
- 2) Flagg Swamp Rockshelter (19-MD-445) in Marlboro, MA, was a cold season habitation site overlooking a swamp which was occupied by small bands of hunters and gatherers during the Late Archaic and Woodland periods. It was situated in the southern face of a glacially-deposited ridge which has a core of Straw Hollow

diorite. Immediately south of the rockshelter site was Flagg Swamp, which is drained via Flagg Brook. Bear remains recovered from the rockshelter were Late Archaic. Two phalanges (a phalange II, or manus, and a phalange III, or claw) were identified as *Ursus* sp., bear. While the specimen was especially large and rugose, the impression was that they were too small to be *Ursus arctos* (grizzly bear), but no measurements were possible. In addition, a black bear cranium and associated mandible were recovered from NOE4 4a-c. (Huntington 1982:80-85). It is further reported that the black bear cranium was carefully positioned right side up in a pit, with the mandible placed on top of it. These were covered with a flat rock (Mitchell 1985:81; Johnson 1996; Gazin-Schwartz 1996).

3) At the Minisink site, a Late Woodland/Contact Period site in New Jersey, the remains of 14 black bears (*Ursus americanus*) were recovered from refuse pits. Bear bones were not found in any appreciable number in any one pit. None of the bones showed any evidence of exposure to fire, and in fact were rather better preserved than most other bones in the same pit (Kraft 1978:35).

4) The Boucher site was an Early Woodland burial place associated with the Middlesex burial complex. Along with probable medicine bundles, this site contained evidence of bear ceremonialism. Portions of at least one ground black bear (*Ursus americanus*) mandible with incised decoration are interpreted as possible mask fragments (Heckenberger et al. 1990:125).

5) At the Indian River Village site in Milford, CT, the canine teeth of bears and other animals were used for tools especially scrapers and burnishers. One can typically determine this type of use by noting channel grooves or broken teeth (Rogers 1943:56).

6) The Wapanucket No. 6 Late Archaic site on the north shore of Assawompsett Pond in Middleboro, MA, carbon-dated to 4300 ¹⁴C yrs B.P. had bear remains (Waters 1962:35).

7) The Seaside Indian Village Site Fort Trumbull Beach, Milford, CT, contained bear remains. The site was discovered after a severe hurricane in 1950, and is reported to have contained burials; probably Early to Middle Woodland based on ceramic assemblages (Coffin 1963:14).

8) Abbott Farm, Mercer County, NJ, had bear remains (White 1974:70).

9) Bear remains were noted at the Wheeler's Farm site, Milford, CT (Coffin 1940:39).

10) Dogan Point site in the Lower Hudson River valley had bear remains (White 1974:71).

11) The Basin site, a coastal Woodland period site at Phippsburg, ME, contained black bear remains as did the Fort Shantok site, a Contact period site in Montville, CT (Waters 1965:10).

12) Bear remains were found at the Cedar Ridge site in Shelton, CT (Coffin 1938:10).

13) Bear remains were found at the Woodruff Rock Shelter, New Preston, CT; 2 innominate fragments and five phalanges (Swigart 1987:68-69).

Appendix 2: Bear Pendants and Effigies

1) Bear effigy (Fowler 1966:42).

2) Bear effigy from Haskell's site, a Maine Cemetery complex site just east of Penobscot Bay (Smith 1948:52).

3) A perforated bear's tooth at Skeleton Ridge, Eagle Hill site, Milford, CT (Coffin 1937:18).

- 4) A bear's tooth pendant and bear remains were found at the Cedar Ridge site in Shelton, CT (Coffin 1938:10).
- 5) A bear's canine was found in a pit feature at the Eagle Hill site, Laurel Beach, Milford, CT (Coffin 1951:32).
- 6) through 16) Ten effigy pestles seem to represent bears (Volmar 1992: Table 1:6,7,8,9a,9b,11,12,16,24,31). Three bear's head effigy pestles are from Contact period burial places (Hadlock 1949; Kraft 1978; D.Ritchie 1980).
- 17) A bear's head adze blade attributed to an Archaic period people was found in North Andover, MA (Willoughby 1973:37,40).
- 18) A very good representation of a seated bear was found in 1830 near the corner of Essex and Boston Streets, Salem (Willoughby 1973:165-166).

Appendix 3: Linguistics

There are a variety of ways to say bear in Algonquian (Aubin 1975:15,85,96,151): -a0kwa (p.15:209); ma0kwa (p.85:1182); maxkwa (p.85:1184). This suggests that the word Maugua (see Simmons 1986:244) is an accurate version of the pronunciation.

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Radiocarbon ages should be reported as radiocarbon years \pm sigma B.P. Please state whether $d^{13}C$ -corrected (give $d^{13}C$) or uncorrected and what material was assayed.

A CACHE OF MIDDLE ARCHAIC GROUND STONE TOOLS FROM LAWRENCE, MASSACHUSETTS

James W. Bradley

INTRODUCTION

In 1923, a cache of ocher-stained stone tools was found during excavation for a new boiler room at the Wood Mill in Lawrence, Massachusetts. The Wood Mill, begun in 1906, was the largest of the American Woolen Company's mills (Molloy 1978:29-30). Most of this complex still stands and is located on the south bank of the Merrimack river just west of the Shawsheen confluence. Across the Merrimack on the north side is the confluence with the Spicket river. As major tributaries of the lower Merrimack, both rivers were well known as important runs for shad, salmon, and alewives well into the 19th century (Parks 1895).

Local histories describe the extensive sand flats on the south side of the river as rich in archaeological resources. "Among the sand dunes where the Wood Mills now stand, [the Indians] had a factory for arrow points... quantities of chips, the waste product of their manufacture, could be picked up there before the great mills covered the grounds" (Dorgan 1924:8-9; Moorehead 1931:13). While mill construction undoubtedly destroyed most of the area's archaeological potential, a few deep features apparently survived. The artifacts recovered in 1923 appear to have come from such a feature.

DESCRIPTION

The cache consisted of three ground stone tools: a full-channeled gouge, a large tabular celt, and a large whetstone. See Figure 1.

The gouge (RSPM #56318) is a highly finished piece made of dark gray igneous rock, probably a very fine grained diabase. It is 23 cm in length, 4 cm wide and 2.2 cm deep at the bit end, and has a maximum thickness of 3 cm. While the piece shows little evidence of the initial pecking, at least two stages of grinding are apparent. The first are diagonal striations on the reverse and lateral sides, probably residual from the preliminary shaping of the pecked out blank. A second, finishing stage is characterized by a series of narrow longitudinal grinding facets, 2 mm across, that run the length of the piece. The channel side appears to have been finished separately, probably with a stone rod.

The tabular celt (RSPM #56319) is also a carefully made and finished piece; it appears to be made from the same dark, fine grained diabase as the gouge. This is a large tool, 38.2 cm in length and 8.1 cm across the bit end. The maximum thickness, 3.4 cm occurs about one third of the length back from the bit. The celt retains marks of the initial pecking and, like the gouge, evidence of at least two stages of grinding: lateral and diagonal shaping strokes as well as longitudinal strokes from finishing and honing.

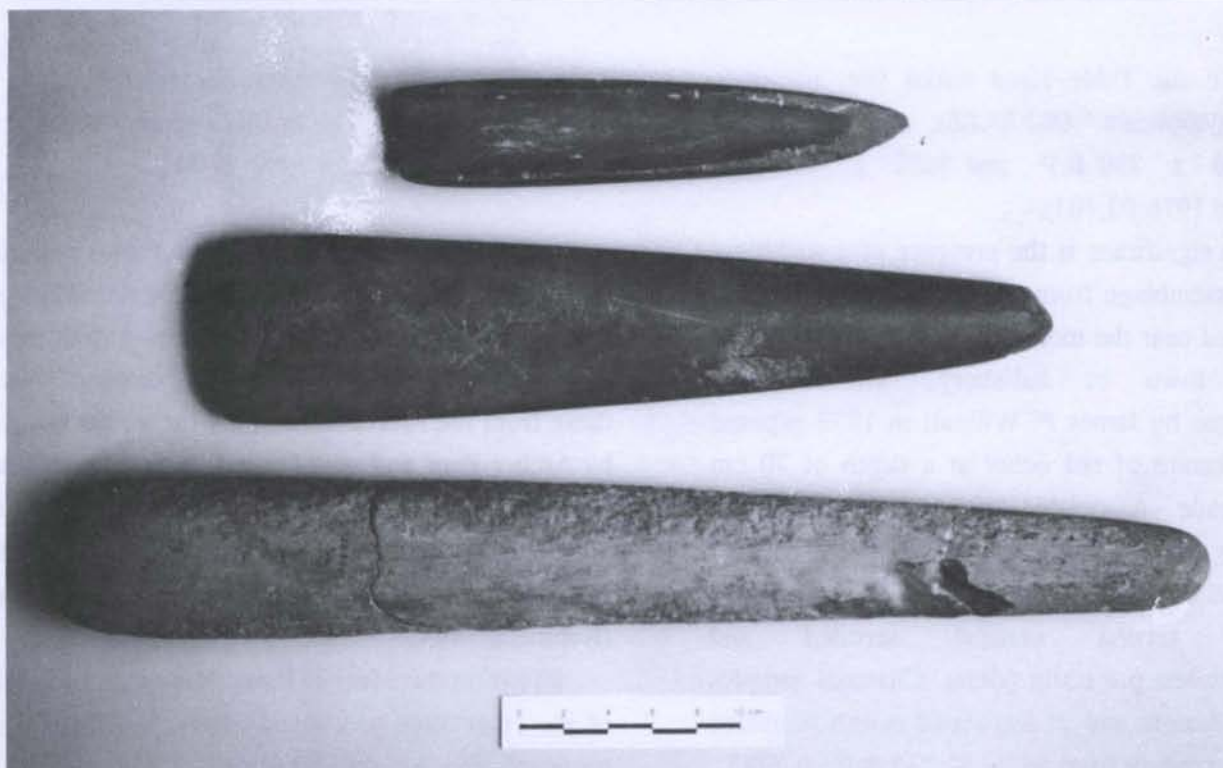


Figure 1. Top to bottom: gouge (RSPM #56318); tabular celt (RSPM #56319); whetstone (RSPM #56320).

The large cylindrical whetstone (RSPM #56320) is made of a fine grained, light gray schist. While generally cylindrical, the piece tapers considerably over its 51 cm length. The smaller (proximal) end is well rounded, nearly circular in section, and between 3.5 and 4 cm in diameter. The larger (distal) end is rougher, more rectangular in section, and 5 cm by 6.5 cm in diameter. Careful examination of this tool indicates that it functioned primarily as a whetstone, not a pestle. Like the celt, this piece was initially pecked to shape (evidence of pecking remains along the lateral margins), then flattened on the obverse and reverse faces by abrasion. The grinding facet is more pronounced on the obverse side and extends down across the distal (larger) end of the piece. While similar, smaller whetstones have been described as 'stone rods' (see below), this piece might more appropriately be termed a 'stone billet' due to its size.

DISCUSSION

While museum records indicate that these three tools were found together, no additional information on their recovery or on the possibility of other associated artifacts has survived. Without either diagnostic bifaces or organic remains for ^{14}C dating, it has been difficult to place these artifacts in a specific cultural or temporal context. However, recent research on the Early and Middle Archaic Periods in Northern New England suggests that, as an assemblage, the Lawrence cache fits well into an emerging pattern of Middle Archaic occupation well represented in the Merrimack drainage (Robinson 1992).

Some of the artifact forms represented in the Lawrence cache are known from Early and Middle Archaic contexts on other sites in the Merrimack drainage. Stone rods, for example, have been found at: Weirs Beach, $8,985 \pm 210$ B.P. (Bolian

1980:125); the Table Land burial site, presently undated (Robinson 1992:83,86); and the Neville site, 7740 \pm 280 B.P., and 7650 \pm 400 B.P. (Dincauze 1976:80,103).

More significant is the presence of a strikingly similar assemblage from the Morrill Point Mound site located near the mouth of the Merrimack River in the town of Salisbury, Massachusetts. Excavations by James P. Whittall in 1979 exposed a large feature of red ocher at a depth of 70 cm below grade. Associated with this feature were numerous artifacts including full-channeled gouges, large tabular celts and stone rods. The feature also included several unusual serrated and corner-notched projectile points. Charcoal samples from the feature and an associated hearth produced ^{14}C dates ranging from 6325 \pm 235 B.P. to 7245 \pm 460 B.P. (Robinson 1992:82).

Additional evidence of an Early to Middle Archaic association for the Lawrence cache comes from Maine. This includes several sites in the Penobscot drainage specifically:

- the Sharrow site in Milo where fragments of a full-channeled gouge and a stone rod were recovered from Stratum II dating ca. 8300-8000 B.P. (Petersen and Putnam 1992:38-39,42);
- the Blackman Stream site in Bradley where fragments of a full-channeled gouge and a complete stone rod were included in Assemblage 2 dating ca. 8000 B.P. (Sanger, Belcher and Kellogg, 1992:151-54);
- the Sunkhaze Ridge site in Milford which produced several Middle Archaic burial

assemblages containing full-channeled gouges and stone rods as well as other ground stone tool forms (Robinson 1992:79-81).

A recently reported cache at the Portage site in the upper reaches of the Androscoggin drainage (Richardsontown Township) also helps to link these assemblages from the Penobscot drainage with those from the Merrimack. This cache, discovered by Archer Poor and now housed in the Maine State Museum, contained two full-channeled gouges and a large stone rod (43 cm in length); a tabular celt was also recovered a short distance (10-15 m) away (Robinson 1995; Torrence et al. 1990:170-73).

Based on the Morrill Point Mound and several of the other sites mentioned above, Robinson has proposed *The Morrill Point Burial Complex* as a Middle Archaic equivalent, and possibly predecessor, to the better known Moorehead burial tradition of the Late Archaic Period. Among the defining traits for this complex are: a locational preference for sandy soils, the use of red ocher, and assemblages that include full-channeled gouges and stone rods as well as other ground stone tool forms (Robinson 1992:94-95).

In sum, while additional dates are needed to clarify the chronological placement of the complex, the Lawrence cache provides evidence in support of Robinson's model. It also underscores the importance of the Merrimack Valley in the dynamic cultural changes which occurred in northern New England during the 7th and 8th millennia B.P.

Acknowledgements: I would like to thank Brian Robinson for sharing his notes on the cache from the Portage site and for commenting on a draft of this paper.

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SUNCONEWHEW: "PHILLIP'S BROTHER" ?

Terence G. Byrne and Kathryn Fairbanks

For more than three hundred years confusion generated by certain 17th century documents has led to the repeated misidentification of a Wampanoag councillor named Sunconewhew as a "third son of Massasoit", hence "brother of King Phillip Metacom". This confusion seems to stem from two documents in particular, a 1668 land deed and a 1676 "Letter." Although the more reliable historians, such as Increase Mather, Bliss, and Samuel Drake, properly have been skeptical of details in the "Letter," none of them seem to have sat with the land deed long enough to realize what it actually says. The resultant error has been reiterated by a succession of other historians such as Peirce (1878), C. Lincoln (1913), and Weeks (1919) and crops up continually in derivative literature since.

THE REHOBOTH DEED OF 1668

The Rehoboth deed of 1668¹ which is the main source of the problem is also its main resolution (Figure 1). It is the earliest document we have found bearing the name of Sunconewhew. The original document measures 8 inches (20.3 cm) wide by 12 inches (30.5 cm) long. We see that the June 1, 1668, quit-claim deed to a tract of land in Rehoboth has been signed by ten people before Josiah Winslow, Assistant Governor of Plymouth Colony at the time (Figure 1). Five signatures, in the lower left corner, are those of English settlers and an Indian interpreter. The five other signatories to the deed are Indians.

The signature portion of the deed, the last 5 inches (12.7 cm), is written in two columns (Figure 2); the paper had been folded down the middle before writing, and fold lines are in evidence even in the photograph.² The flourished "Signed, sealed and delivered..." heads the left column; text, appears at the top of the right. Under the flourishes on the left the first five lines each begin with: "the mark of...".

These obviously were set up by the scribe to facilitate the recording of the distinctive mark of each of these five native witnesses to the deed, who were not accustomed to reading and writing English. Following that phrase in three of the lines (the first, second, and fourth) the scribe has written the name of the man and left space for his mark, after which appears the scribe's identification of the man as "counsillor." But in the third and fifth lines, following the phrase "the mark of...", is the mark made by the man, after which the scribe has set down his name and identification together.

It is relevant that in the second and third lines a dot of ink seems to indicate the place where the man was to place his mark. But when the scribe placed the dot for the mark in the third line, he was over-generous as to space, as was the man, Sunconewhew, when he signed his mark (S) still farther to the right. The result was that the scribe's identifying words after the mark run across the center of the sheet and into the righthand column, putting clarity at risk there, as we shall see.

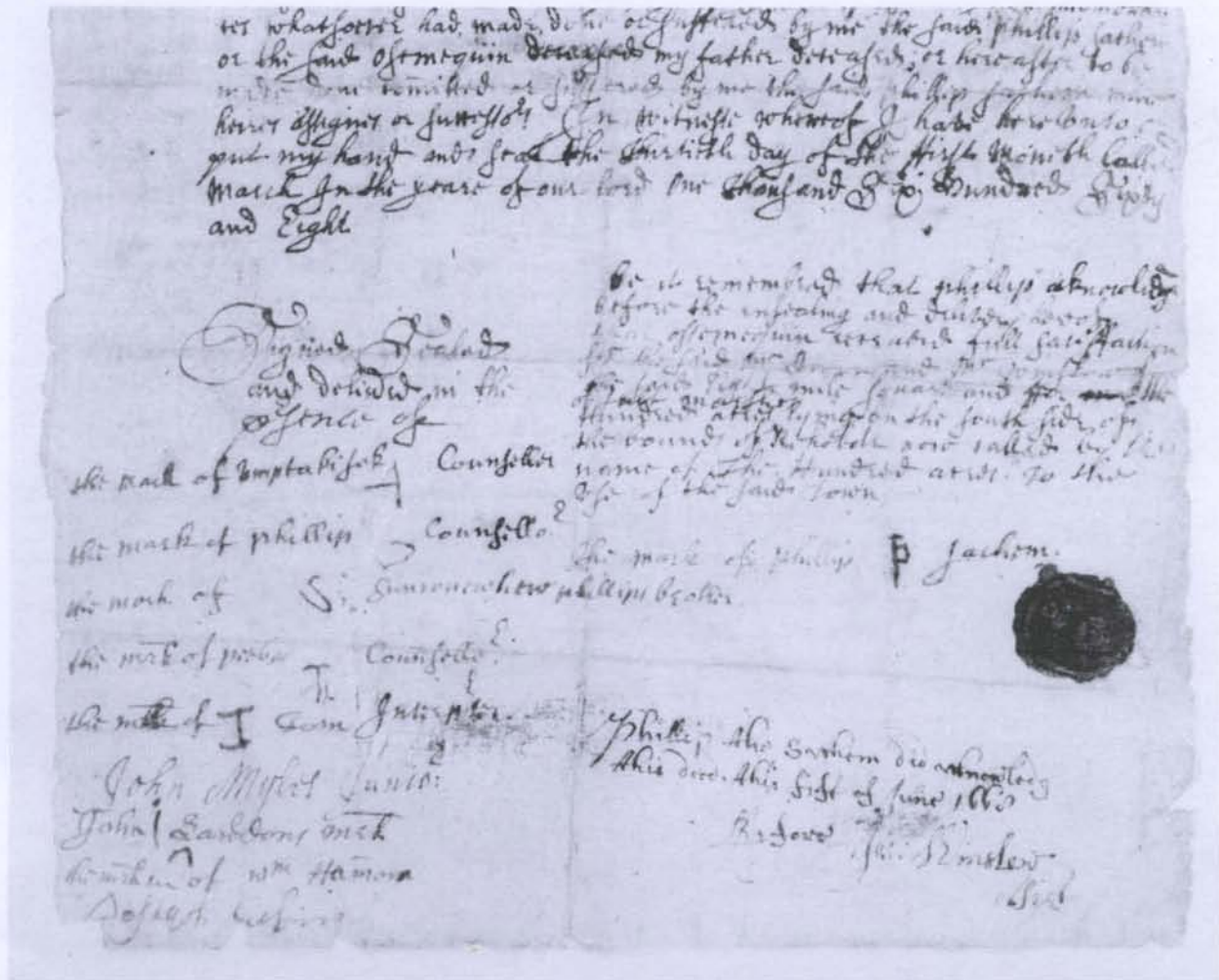


Figure 2. Signature portion of the Rehoboth Quit-Claim Deed. (Size: about 8 in [20.3 cm] x 5 in [12.7 cm]) At right: "the mark of phillip Sachem"; second left: "the mark of phillip Counsellor"; third left: "the mark of Sunconewhew phillips brother." Note that the latter, running across the center fold and under the signature line of Phillip Sachem, creates the impression the two Phillips are the same man. (Courtesy of The John Carter Brown Library at Brown University.)

In the righthand column of the deed (Figure 2) and below the text is the name, mark, and identification of the main signer:

The mark of phillip (P) Sachem

A sizeable space below this appears the statement:

Phillip the Sachem did acknowledge
this deed this first of June, 1668
before Jos. Winslow, Assist.

This is what is on the document. Now let us look at how it may appear to the reader.

ANALYSIS

The signature which stands out first by virtue of its being alone on the right-hand side of the sheet with space above and below it is that of the most prominent signatory: ... phillip (P) Sachem (Figure 2). This, of course, is Phillip Metacom, second son of Chief Ousamequin (Massasoit), deceased. Then the center of the document commands notice, and the arresting words there, taken out of their true context, say, to

the confusion of the hasty observer:

... Sunconewhew phillips brother

Here, we believe, is the crux of the error, resulting from an accidental placing of some of these words under the signature line of the sachem in the right-hand column. For when one examines the left side of the sheet one sees that this phrase is actually part of the third line in the list of the names of the five Native people, each signed by its owner with a personal mark (Figure 2). One sees that the line immediately above it is:

The mark of phillip (>) Counsellor

A critical point here is that the personal mark of this Phillip is altogether different from that of Phillip the Sachem, and is followed by the designation "Counsellor." The document therefore has signatures of two different men, each named Phillip.

Immediately below this second line which identifies Phillip the Counsellor is the third line which identifies Sunconewhew:

The mark of (S) Sunconewhew phillips brother

Had this line been written directly beneath the signature line of Phillip the Sachem there would be a case for considering that Sunconewhew was the Sachem's brother. But it is not, even though there was ample space to write it. Instead, Sunconewhew's signature line is still simply the third of the signature lines of the Native witnesses on the left, and begins directly under that of the councillor named Phillip.

One need look at only a few of the signed documents of the period to see that when relatives signed the same document they commonly signed consecutively; then either they or the scribe added

a word or two calling attention to the relationship between them. As, for example, in nearby Middleborough, in the deed of a land purchase, July 7, 1669, we see:

Henry the Indian The mark of (mark)
William his sonne (Weston 1906:609-610).

In the deed of South Purchase, July 23, 1673:

The (mark) mark of Tuspaquin the Black
Sachem
The (mark) mark of William son to the Black
Sachem
(Weston 1906:615).

In the deed of the Sixteen Shilling Purchase:

The mark of (mark) wetispican
The mark of (mark) Willie Tispican
(Weston 1906:621).

In the same way on the Rehoboth deed, the second and third signature lines tell us three things: by the difference in their marks, that Phillip the Counsellor is not Phillip the Sachem; that Sunconewhew was brother to Phillip the Counsellor, listed above him; and that Sunconewhew witnessed the deed. That he, like his brother, was a councillor is highly probable, I believe, and Wampanoag tribal historian Russell Gardner concurs (personal communication, 1995); nonetheless it is not stated here. The significant conclusion is that Sunconewhew is neither brother to the Sachem nor son of Massasoit.

THE "N.S." LETTER OF 1676

The second document which is source of much error in many matters is one of the several published letters signed "N.S.," "a Merchant of Boston...communicated to his friend in London 1676" on the subject of King Phillip's War ("N.S."

1966; Lincoln 1913:21-99). Presumed by some historians, among them Charles Lincoln, to be Nathaniel Saltonstall (Lincoln 1913:21), "N.S." wrote in Boston from hearsay, not as a participant; his tracts were published here, annotated by Samuel Drake, in the publication "The Old Indian Chronicle" (Drake 1841:197, footnote). The *Chronicle* apparently had wide circulation, at least among historians, for the errors of "N.S." persist down to such scholars as George Horner (1995:20) and to works in bookstores today.

"N.S." relates that in a swamp fight near Pocasset on July 18, 1675:

But in this Fight were killed King Philip's Brother, his Privy Councillor, (being one formerly Educated at Cambridg) (sic) and one of his chief Captains; the Heads of which three were afterwards brought to Boston ("N.S." 1966; Lincoln 1913:31).

Hubbard, the conscientious historian and minister of Ipswich writing in 1677 from responsible "...eye and ear witnesses..." (Hubbard 1990:16) of Phillip's War, does not mention this at all. Drake, editing Hubbard in 1864, supplies the following footnote:

A writer ("N.S." reprinted) in the *Chronicle* says a Brother of Phillip was killed at the same Time. I have met with no other Chronicler of the Time who mentions the Fact; nor have I met with the mention of a Brother of Phillip, other than that of Wamsutta (Alexander), saving in one Deed from Phillip...(the Rehoboth deed)...in 1668. To that Deed "Sonconewhew, Phillip's Brother" is a Signer... (Hubbard 1990:73, footnote).

Ironically, Drake at one stroke casts aspersions on the credibility of "N.S." and betrays his own unfamiliarity with the 1668 deed he cites, missing both the second Phillip and the "u" in Sunconewhew's name there.

Charles Lincoln, who published the "N.S." Letters anew in his collection *Narratives of the Indian Wars*, paraphrases Drake:

No other contemporary writer gives these details and "N.S." unites several occurrences into one engagement. Phillip had a brother Sonconewhew who signed a deed for him in 1668... (Lincoln 1913:31).

Then Lincoln, too, failed to notice there were two Phillips signing the deed; and the fact that he missed the "u" suggests that Lincoln may not have seen the actual deed. What Lincoln certainly did notice, however, were the continual inaccuracies in the "N.S." Letter narratives. Having compared them with other contemporary accounts including those of eyewitnesses, Lincoln contradicts some of the "N.S." accounts, corrects others, and comments in footnotes to his edition of the Letters that information is exaggerated, confused or improbable. He reminds us that "N.S." was not in the field during these events (Lincoln 1913:59), and points out misidentification of leading figures: Squaw Sachem Weetamoo of Pocasset mistaken for Squaw Sachem Awashonks of Saconet (Lincoln 1913:96); and Canonchet for his relative Miantonomo (Lincoln 1913:90).

More compromising still to the credibility of "N.S." is his statement that the Sachem Phillip was the grandson of Massasoit, revealing a basic lack of common information and public record. According to Drake, "N.S." "doubtless copied from Josselyn... the first writer that so denominates him..." (Drake 1995: book 3:44-45

and footnote). Phillip was, rather, the son of Massasoit (Ousamequin) and successor to the sachemship on the death of the older son Alexander Wamsutta (Plymouth Colony Records 1857:7:256,190-191). All this bears out the Reverend Increase Mather's comment on the "N.S." Letters that:

The abounding Mistakes therein, caused me to think it necessary, that a true History of this Affair (King Philip's War) should be published.

(Mather 1990:35).

Weeks, less an historian than an oft-cited writer, lists Sunconewhew in his genealogy as Massasoit's "third son" with no support other than his name on the Rehoboth deed (Weeks 1919:137), and the "N.S." citing. Weeks deplorably misreads the "N.S." account, "But in this fight..." (see above). Weeks' version transforms the three men into one, despite the sad statement by "N.S." that their three heads, not one, were taken to display at Boston:

It is said that Phillip had a brother killed July 18, 1775 (sic) who was a great captain and had been educated at Harvard College (Weeks 1919: 137).

This compounded indignity to an already flawed account persists in derivative literature today.

ADDITIONAL EVIDENCE

After the death of Massasoit in 1660 his older son Wamsutta made an "ernest request" to the Court at Plymouth:

...(T)hat the Court would confer an

English name upon him...and...the same in the behalfe of his brother... (Plymouth Colony Records 1861:3:192).

The Court accordingly chose the names of Alexander and Phillip. There is no mention of another brother Sunconewhew though as a member of a royal line, his status would have required consideration.

Again, on September 29, 1671, Phillip Sachem signed a gun-surrender treaty. Co-signers with him were six other natives of whom one is "Sonkanuhoo." Nothing identifies Sonkanuhoo as a relative of the Sachem (Plymouth Colony Records 1861:5:79).

Further, in the oral tradition of the Wampanoag nation, although much other information including genealogy, has been handed down to the present day, there is no word of a third son of Massasoit, nor of a blood relationship between the man Sunconewhew and the Wampanoag royal line (Russell Gardner, personal communication, 1995).

Lastly, Sunconewhew is mentioned neither in the 1907 Handbook of American Indians (Hodge 1907), nor in the 1978 Handbook of North American Indians (Salwen 1978).

CONCLUSIONS

The Rehoboth deed and other supporting evidence show that Sunconewhew and Phillip Sachem are a councillor and his sachem, associates in the leadership group, quite possibly friends, and sometime signatories of the same official and witnessed colonial public documents. Conspicuously absent is any reliable document or oral tradition substantiating brotherhood between Sunconewhew and Phillip Sachem. Against this, the hearsay evidence of an anonymous narrator,

much-disputed even in his own day, that Sunconewhew was "a brother of King Phillip" is very hard to take literally. It appears, rather, that Sunconewhew was the brother of Phillip the Councillor. No further substantive information about these two men was recoverable however.³

Why has the error of Sunconewhew's identity persisted for so long? One reason may be that historians, preoccupied with Phillip as sachem, as enemy and famous war casualty, became conditioned to think "King Phillip" at the sight of "Phillip." Moreover, the errors of the merchant "N.S." were widely propagated, not only in England where was the first and eager market for news from the colony, but also in Boston in the

Indian Chronicle. Aware of the errors spread by the "Merchant of Boston," we sometimes may wish he had confined himself to selling his merchandise.

The evidence presented in this paper shows that historians either did not seek out the original deed or, finding it, took from it only the data they wanted, without reading the whole document carefully.

Acknowledgements: We would like to thank Russell Gardner for his kindly support and counsel, Betty Little for her useful comments, and Susan Danforth of the John Carter Brown Library for her patient assistance.

NOTES

1. Bliss wrote in 1836, "The original deed is still extant, and in the possession of the proprietors of Rehoboth, in the keeping of Capt. Worcester Carpenter, proprietor's clerk" (Bliss 1836:64, footnote). A photograph of the signature portion of the deed appeared in a 1975 edition of Church's account of King Philip's War (Church 1975:42). It was credited to the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University, Providence, R.I. There we found the original June 1, 1668, Quit-Claim Deed of Rehoboth, beautifully curated. It was given to the Library in 1952 by the widow of George H. Carpenter, undoubtedly of the family of the 1836 proprietor's clerk of Rehoboth. On the thin yellow paper, now backed delicately with silk as support, the text had been written in one ink, brown today, signed and minimally corrected in another ink, now gray-black. Phillip Sachem's mark stands out strong and solid as a war-club; the councillor Phillip's mark is thin and somewhat shaky. In the third line a figure rears up like a serpent: the mark of Sunconewhew.

2. The deed has a center fold and five horizontal folds. Russell Gardner, Wampanoag historian, has suggested that this document, begun and dated March 30, 1668, (last two lines of main text), was carried about to be completed and signed later, as it was on June 1, 1668 (bottom right with Phillip the Sachem's signature).

3. Sunconewhew's name appears in the official written record less than a half-dozen times, and oral tradition is silent about him. Lack of information about "Phillip the Councillor" however, may be due to another reason: the clouding of evidence because of past assumptions that any reference to a Native named "Phillip" meant "Phillip the Sachem." For example, neither "Phillip the Councillor" nor any other "Phillip" is listed in the Index to the Plymouth County Records (vol. 5), but "Phillip the Sachem" has twelve listings most of which refer clearly to him by name and context. One of these references, however, appears doubtfully attributed. It reports a "...controversy between John Hathway, of Taunton, and an Indian named Phillip..." who was fined for damage done by him to Hathway's swine (Plymouth Colony Records 1861:5:807). It is clear from other sources that Phillip was a name taken by many Indians. One Phillip, alias Wagusoke, for example, was a witness with Weetamoo on a land deed in Swansey on May 8, 1673 (Drake 1995: book 3,4).

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AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL LANDSCAPE IN NARRAGANSETT, RHODE ISLAND: POINT JUDITH UPPER POND.

Alan Leveillee and Burr Harrison

Recent archaeological excavation along the shores of Point Judith Upper Pond in Narragansett, Rhode Island has resulted in the recovery of a complex Native American material record including a burial, evidence of maize horticulture, and marine resource exploitation in the Late Woodland Period. Recognition of the greater site area as an archaeological landscape establishes an important interpretative context and provides a broad base for a significance evaluation.

INTRODUCTION

The shores of Point Judith Pond, in Narragansett, Rhode Island, have been the focus of archaeological activity for decades, initially by local collectors and more recently by professional cultural resource management firms providing consultation and services to developers. Several studies have been conducted as planning elements of proposed Salt Pond Residences construction

(Morenon 1991; Leveillee 1993a,b).

The increasingly complex results of these investigations have led to a focus on specific sections of the proposed development. Most recently a series of features has been exposed during data recovery investigations within designated house lots and utility easements. Among these features are a confirmed human burial, and multiple suspected human burials, as well as hearths, pits, and unidentified features resulting from a wide temporal and functional range of Native American activities. The site is listed in the state site files as RI 110 (Figure 1).

Sufficient information is now available to establish an interpretive context for both recovered and expected classes of data within the extensive site area. A synthesis of the results of investigations to date indicate that the complex deposits of artifacts and features clustered along Point Judith Pond constitute what we feel is best described as an *archaeological landscape*: a place resulting from the synergistic interplay of

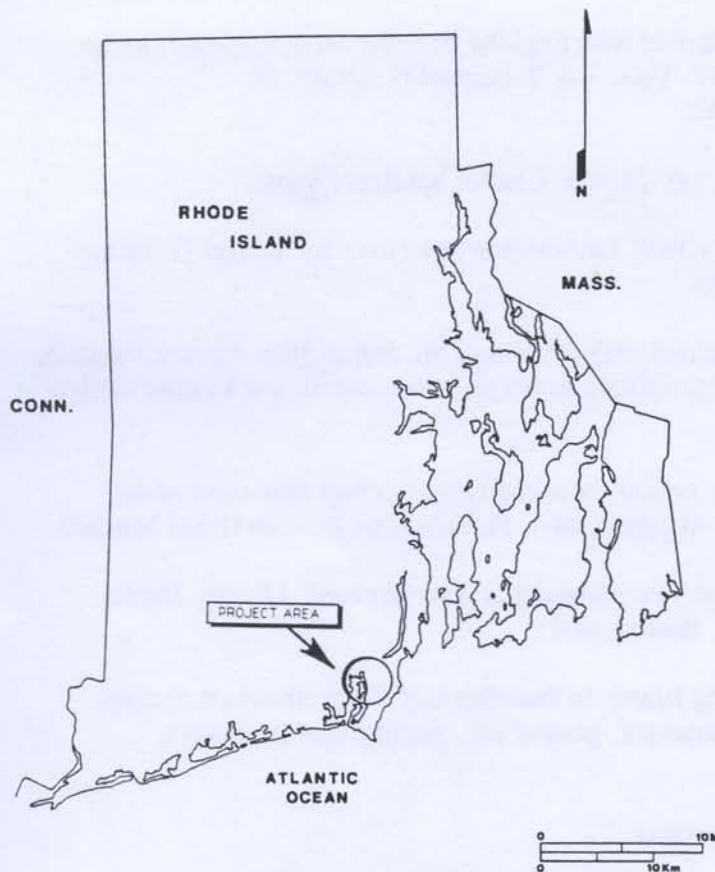


Figure 1. Map of Rhode Island showing location of Point Judith Upper Pond project area.

past environments and the peoples who occupied them.

CHRONOLOGY OF RESEARCH AT THE SITE

The earliest published archaeological reference to the study area is a map accompanying a 1929 article of the Rhode Island Historical Society (Cabot 1929). The map illustrates the greater Point Judith Pond and Upper Pond region with seven designated locations of "indian camp sites." One of the site markers covers what we refer to today as RI 110. In the accompanying article William Cabot addresses the origins of place names, citing linguistic evidence that the name Narragansett is derived from descriptors of the Point Judith geography. He notes that Point Judith itself, Weyanitoke, and Narragansett may both be derivatives of Weynanihegontokset, a high point with a back passage around it (Cabot 1929:36).

In the fall and winter of 1986/1987 Rhode Island College conducted a Phase I archaeological reconnaissance survey of 72 acres on the northwest shores of Point Judith Upper Pond. The project area was divided into 115 possible sample areas, 31 (27%) of which were sampled. Five sample areas were located within the area designated as prehistoric site RI 110. Morenon noted that this site number "has been assigned to all of the prehistoric remains defined within the Salt Pond Residences project area" (Morenon 1991:7). The reconnaissance survey report concluded with the observation that ten hectares of high archaeological sensitivity existed within the project area and that proposed construction could damage important archaeological resources. Consequently Phase II site examination studies were recommended.

The stated underlying elements that contributed to the potential significance of RI 110, and that were to be addressed by a proposed Phase II site examination study were:

1. The Technology of Prehistoric Stone Tool Manufacture;
2. The Patterning of Native American Land Use;
3. The Nature of Native American Land Uses;
4. The Nature of Native American Subsistence Patterns. (Morenon 1991:12).

Testing at the Phase II level resulted in the recovery of moderate densities of lithic debitage, low densities of aboriginal ceramics, and the identification of a single feature, containing shell. Lacking radiocarbon dates, ceramics were the best temporal indicator, suggesting Woodland Period occupation. Based upon the results of the Phase II survey Morenon hypothesized that remnants of a "village context" existed within RI 110 and concluded that although some areas were disturbed "two to four hectares contain highly important archaeological resources" (Morenon 1991:29). Noting that features were expected to exist below disturbed topsoil it was recommended that further study include the use of heavy equipment to expose and investigate extant features.

In the fall of 1993 The Public Archaeology Laboratory, Inc. (PAL Inc.) began a program of archaeological data recovery within a section of RI 110 identified as highly sensitive. Initial stages of the data recovery included machine assisted removal of approximately 3000 square meters of the plowzone in order to expose features created during the Native American occupation(s) of the site. This process resulted in the identification of 62 features. Excavation of the features was in progress when human skeletal remains were encountered (feature #36). Visual inspection of a nearby cluster of exposed, but as yet unexcavated, circular and oval features resulted in the suggestion that additional burials were present. These features were considered unlikely to be corn hills because they differed markedly from those found at Smith's Point, Cape Cod (Mrozowski 1994). They were variable in size, larger in diameter, and were not

mounded, or arranged in rows.

State and local authorities along with representatives of the Narragansett Indian Tribe, as next of kin, met on site with the project proponents and consulting archaeologists. A consensus among the involved parties resulted in an attempt to determine the boundaries of the suspected burial ground. Continued machine assisted plowzone removal, to the north and west of the already exposed area as well as along a proposed sewer easement to the south and west of the confirmed burial, exposed an additional 60 circular soil stains, shell scatters, and oxidized anomalies near the initial burial, and 47 more features within the trenched section of the sewer easement.

The Narragansett Indian Tribal representative expressed a concern that burial features would be impacted by currently planned construction activities. The Narragansetts expressed a desire to continue attempts to define boundaries of the site while avoiding alteration to features, beyond exposure through topsoil removal. Therefore four additional areas were cleared along the perimeter of the proposed development. This resulted in the identification of relatively lower densities of soil anomalies along the perimeter of the project area. After removal of topsoil east of the confirmed burial exposed additional circular features, new vegetation growth on different soils highlighted the pattern of circles (Figure 2).



Figure 2. Circular features near confirmed burial shown by vegetation growth.
(Area: 25 m x 25 m: diameter of circle on left \pm 1.5 m) (Photograph by A. Leveillee)

RESULTS

To date the removal of the plowzone strata in the above outlined areas has resulted in the exposure of 223 features. Twenty-one circular and oval features were identified as potential burials. Prior to the confirmation of a human burial in feature #36 a range of non-burial features including lithic concentrations, oxidized lenses, refuse pits, and shell pockets were excavated as part of the data recovery program. The range of materials collected through excavation to date includes projectile points and biface fragments, aboriginal ceramics (Figure 3), lithic debitage, and faunal remains such as deer, fish, and a variety of shellfish species (Figure 4). Two deep pit features have yielded carbonized maize kernels (Tonya Largy, personal communication, 1994; Figure 5).

The data collected from RI 110 indicate a wide range of activities over a

continuum of several thousand years, spanning the Terminal Archaic through the Contact Period. The activities of the occupants of the site varied through time and included, at minimum, collecting and processing food resources, later stage manufacture of stone tools, refuse disposal, and probable storage. The one confirmed burial and the presence of other possible burial features indicates



Figure 3. A representative sample of ceramic shards, feature 201. (Photograph by Kirk VanDyke)



Figure 4. A representative sample of fish bone, feature 201. (Photograph by Kirk VanDyke)

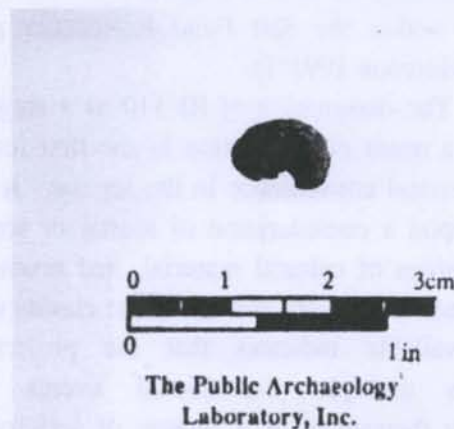


Figure 5. A maize kernel recovered from feature 201. (Photograph by Kirk VanDyke)

that the site was also utilized as a place of interment. Radiocarbon analysis of shell from within the burial yielded a date of 820 ± 60 ^{14}C years ago (Beta 67424, C-13 corrected). Nearby, charcoal from a deep feature containing three canine teeth and steatite fragments proved to be 480 ± 110 ^{14}C years old (Beta 67425, C-13 corrected). Feature 201, yielding maize, was radiocarbon dated to 770 ± 70 years ago (Beta 92196, C-13 corrected).

CONCLUSIONS

Critique of Single Site Designation for RI 110

The designation of RI 110 as a single site was the result of two circumstances: 1) that the recording of a general location of surface finds and the 1929 Cabot graphic served as the basis of information for a single site form filed at the Rhode Island Historical Preservation Commission, with the designation RI 110; and 2) that this designation was continued when Morenon noted "ultimately the site number took precedence and has been assigned to all of the prehistoric remains defined within the Salt Pond Residences project area" (Morenon 1991:7).

The designation of RI 110 as a single site is then a result of convention in the first instance, and logistical convenience in the second. It is not based upon a consideration of spatial or temporal relationships of cultural material, and needs to be examined. A cursory review of the classes of data now available indicates that the project area contains multiple depositional events which manifest themselves as a mosaic of activity areas that overlap. Through time the landscape was utilized by different peoples for different reasons. This has resulted in an archaeological record of variable density within, and beyond, the project area. Probably the entire perimeter of Point Judith and the shores of Point Judith Upper Ponds were utilized by Native American occupants. For this

reason attempts to define limits of either specific feature types or a boundary marking presence/absence have been unsuccessful. It is expected that any further attempts to justify site limits, within the confines of the single site designation, will result in a determination that the site is artificially defined by the boundaries of the project area itself. It follows that the designation of RI 110 as a single site is inappropriate.

The Concept of an Archaeological Landscape

The expanding scale of regional archaeological research, applications of literature from the field of historical geography, and incorporation of environmental and ecological perspective within ongoing anthropological theory building have contributed to the recent development of the concept of *historic landscapes* (Darvill et al. 1993). Underlying this concept is the realization that remnants, or relics, of landscapes exist that contain multiple depositional events relating to particular cultures, and that the patterns of material culture within these landscapes reflect processes in operation during the times of their occupation. Within these landscapes there exists sufficient archaeological evidence to allow the study of sociocultural patterning at a larger scale than is possible from single features or sites. Within such landscapes a sense of place was conceptualized in social, structural, functional, and cognitive terms by the communities that occupied them. The archaeological elements of the landscape are articulated in a coherent way through one or more defining features or themes.

In the case of the remains concentrated along Point Judith Upper Pond, both geographic and ecological features, as well as cultural and sociological themes are definable. Topographically, Point Judith and Upper Pond (with their associated resources) served as a focal point for native occupation of the landscape. Observations that the Algonquian names for the area are based on natural

landscape characteristics serves to reinforce the idea that prehistoric occupants employed topographic variables in conceptualizing the area.

Archaeological patterns reflecting both settlement and ideology exist within the area designated as RI 110. Research to date indicates that the landscape includes elements of a "village" (Morenon 1991), at least one and possibly more burials, and multiple activity areas. Temporal indicators, though limited, indicate that Late Woodland to Contact Period components predominate. Limited utilization by Late Archaic peoples is also in evidence. The record of material culture within the investigated project area indicates then that it is not a single site, but is rather part of a larger archaeological landscape. RI 110 is, therefore, an element in the more extensive archaeological landscape of the Point Judith Upper Pond area.

Implications for Further Consideration

To date the collection of archaeological data in proximity to Point Judith Pond has proceeded without the benefit of a large scale interpretive context. The driving impetus for investigations has been to define presence or absence within specific locations of projected construction in an attempt to meet building schedules and objectives. The recognition that the artifact and feature complex that constitutes RI 110 is important as a segment of an archaeological landscape which reflects dynamic social processes, including belief systems and mortuary practice, provides an important context for the evaluation and future consideration of this significant cultural resource.

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INDIGENOUS PEOPLES' CONTROL OVER AND CONTRIBUTION TO ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA: SOME ISSUES.

Shirley Blancke and John Peters Slow Turtle

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Introduction

Over the last twenty years Native voices of the United States of America have increasingly been raised in defense of their religious freedom and civil rights, not least as they have understood them to be impacted by archaeology and the storing of their cultural heritage in museums and other institutions. Indigenous peoples have turned increasingly to legislation as a means of redress, and have had considerable success in gaining the support of legislators. Archaeologists understandably have become concerned about their rights of scientific study, and the possibility of losing the resources to recover indigenous history. Recent legislation has caused archaeologists to start to develop relationships with Native people, both locally and further afield, to negotiate how "cultural patrimony" is to be conserved or repatriated, and how scientific study is to be continued. There are some encouraging results, including an instance of Native support preventing a State Archaeologist's office from being legislated out of existence (Simon 1994a). This hardly means that little more remains to be done to protect archaeological sites and indigenous peoples' heritage from rampant looting by members of the dominant society, but archaeologists and Native

people are increasingly becoming allies in supporting protective legislation.

Concerns of Native People and Archaeologists

At the top of the list of Native concerns is the spiritual issue of the protection of burials, including the return of skeletons and grave goods stored in institutions, closely followed by the protection of sacred sites and the return of sacred objects. Destroying their burials has been viewed as an aspect of genocide, but even the destruction of nonnative burials disturbs them as disrespect for the dead. The values of archaeologists on the other hand are primarily scientific in their desire to preserve a wide range of sites. Working with indigenous people has had for them the bonus of better Native understanding of the archaeologist's work and increased interest in supporting site preservation in general, while archaeologists have become more sensitive to the sacred issues which concern Native peoples.

The topic of Native influence with respect to American archaeology is a complex one due in part to the nature of United States government. Federal and state laws impact Native groups differently according to whether they have federal or state recognition as native tribes or neither. United States law has tilted from an early view of Native nations as sovereign to the current position that they are wards of the government, so Native tribal groups are always in process of either trying to gain recognition, or trying to increase their sovereignty on already recognized reservations. Lack of recognition makes even simple matters of

justice difficult for Native groups. For example, it is illegal for John Peters Slow Turtle, a Supreme Medicine Man, to obtain eagle feathers for his ceremonies, (eagles are a protected species with some exemptions for recognized Native Nations), because his Mashpee Wampanoags have no federal recognition.

Government Regulation of Archaeology and Native Control

At the federal level general preservation of archaeological sites, controlled by the permitting of excavation on tribal and federal lands, usually comes under the State Historic Preservation Offices (SHPOs) which exist in every state, and are sometimes combined with state-sponsored historical commissions as in Massachusetts. The SHPOs have statutory and regulatory responsibilities to guarantee that archaeological work is conducted in the public interest (Talmage 1982). However a new trend is for large federally recognized Native Nations to have their own historic preservation officers. The Navajo, the largest Native Nation numbering 200,000 people who live on a 25,000 square mile reservation which comprises an eighth of the state of Arizona, have complete control over the permitting of archaeological work on the reservation, with fieldwork funded by the federal government. Their archaeological permitting is subcontracted from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the federal agency which administers federally recognized reservations. There are 100 to 150 professionally trained Navajo archaeologists and technicians with many more experienced field workers (Alan Downer, Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Officer, personal communication, 1996). The Zuni and Hopi pueblos of Arizona and New Mexico also have their own historic preservation officers and permitting control.

Burial Legislation and Native Input

Legislation at both federal and state levels has been enacted to protect Native burials. The federal Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) was passed in 1990 to protect Native grave sites on tribal and federal lands, and to make possible the repatriation of objects of "cultural patrimony" to Native peoples. It has had a major impact on museums as any institution using federal funds has been required to inventory all their holdings of human remains, associated grave goods, and other cultural materials, and to notify those Native peoples affected with a view to eventual repatriation if requested. It has also given Native peoples an unprecedented degree of control over their cultural patrimony although the groups legally unrecognized as tribes are left in limbo. Many institutions have notified such groups anyway. Twelve years before the passage of NAGPRA the Zuni started a quiet campaign which resulted in the repatriation of 85 of their War Gods, spiritual guardians of the Zuni. Much of their effort became integral to the intent of NAGPRA and the definition of cultural patrimony (Anyon 1996).

In several states some burial protection has been enacted. The Massachusetts Unmarked Burial Law has been a landmark in fostering co-operation between Native people and archaeologists. It started with action by the State Commission on Indian Affairs, of which John Peters Slow Turtle is Executive Director, to protect Native burials in Massachusetts. The Commissioners are Native people who represent the indigenous people of Massachusetts and those from other parts of the country who live there. While all marked burials were protected by Massachusetts law, many Native graves were unmarked and increasingly impacted by burgeoning development. In 1977

and 1982 the Commission filed legislation to create a moratorium on development which disturbed burials. It did not pass, but the Commission on Indian Affairs together with the State Archaeologist at the State Historical Commission, and the Medical Examiner, established administrative solutions to provide a measure of protection. In 1983 the cooperation of these agencies resulted in the Massachusetts Unmarked Burial Law which ensures their working together on surveys and investigation of disturbed burials (Simon 1994b).

The Massachusetts Unmarked Burial Law protects unmarked burials or cemeteries of any cultural affiliation over 100 years old on both public and private lands, but applies to skeletal remains only and does not include grave goods. Whenever possible burials are left *in situ*, but when reburial is necessary the costs are borne by the disturber. A period of one year is allowed for scientific investigation with the the option of consultation if a longer period is needed. This law achieved the preservation of important unmarked Native cemeteries on Cape Cod and the island of Nantucket. The State Archaeologist, Brona Simon, reports that it has also resulted in more frequent reporting of the discoveries of burials or threatened burial sites; greater opportunities in archaeological site protection; a greater number of archaeological surveys and investigations; comprehensive and consistent physical analysis of skeletal remains; opportunities to work cooperatively with Native people; and the emergence of the Native community as a strong constituency in support of historic and archaeological site preservation activities (Simon 1994b).

Cooperation between Native People and Archaeologists

A similar constituency is developing in other places also. A broad range of archaeological

work is being generously supported by the Mashantucket Pequots of Connecticut through profits from their gambling casino. They are furthering research through fieldwork and the building of a museum (Simon 1994a). This year will be the second year of an archaeological field school operated by the Mohegan nation and Eastern Connecticut State University.

These laws are fostering a climate among the archaeological community of cooperation with Native peoples even when the laws themselves do not apply. The Massachusetts Archaeological Society, a society of avocational and professional archaeologists, provides a case in point. In 1992 the Society, which receives no federal funds, offered to repatriate Native remains and invited members of the local, federally unrecognized, Wampanoag community to discuss plans for a new museum. It was the start of an extended dialogue which was often difficult for both sides. Archaeologists were nervous of being castigated for past excavation practices, and Native people viewed museums as jailers of a culture's history, designed to separate a people from their past. Perseverance in building personal relationships through the "talking stick," a Native form of discussion, paid dividends in increased trust on both sides leading to joint exhibits at Native powwows and other events, and a commitment on the part of the Society to discuss returning sensitive objects after cataloguing, though not required to do so by law (Warfield 1994).

Preservation of Native Sacred Sites

The preservation of Native sacred sites has been more difficult than the protection of burials since the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978 proved to be a law with no preservation teeth. The various antiquities laws, and occasionally environmental laws, may provide

some protection in certain situations, but it is a case of trying to apply laws in a piecemeal fashion which do not directly address the problem (Trope 1996). The Zuni have managed to develop strategies to make use of the National Historic Preservation Act in the preservation of sacred areas. Under the act properties of traditional and cultural importance may be listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Problems arise however with respect to confidentiality, and differences between Native American and Euro-American definitions of what constitutes a "traditional and cultural property." Native religious rites such as pilgrimages which may extend over large areas tend to be curtailed because of nonnative property rights (Anyon 1996).

One successful resolution of the protection of a sacred area, the Bighorn Medicine Wheel in Wyoming which shares its peak with a radar tower, came about through the co-operation of federal agents with Native people which resulted in compromises on both sides. The area is now restricted at certain times for Native sacred use, but is not otherwise closed to visitors who, except for the handicapped, have to walk 1 1/2 miles to the site instead of being able to drive to it. Local ranchers and hunters have access to a road which passes the site (Trope 1996). A much less happy situation is that of Mt. Graham, sacred to the Western Apaches, who have three powerful

western institutions arrayed against them, (the University of Arizona, the Max Planck Institute of Germany, and the Vatican), who wish to build an observatory with several telescopes on the mountain, and have already started to do so, circumventing through political influence laws used by the Apaches to try to prevent it (Brandt 1996).

Conclusion

The indigenous peoples of the United States have gained considerable control over their burials and cultural patrimony through legislation enacted in the past fifteen years. Less successful has been the protection of sacred sites. Cooperation between archaeologists and Native people is benefiting both sides, with increased sensitivity on the part of archaeologists to Native sacred issues, and increased tolerance on the Native side of archaeologists' aims to create their own understanding of indigenous peoples' history.

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Shirley Blancke
Assistant Editor

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